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17
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION,

HELD AT

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS,

JUNE 16, 1858.



SPRINGFIELD:

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1858

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

SPRINGFIELD, June 16, 1858.

Pursuant to the following call, the delegates to the Republican State Convention of Illinois assembled in the Representatives' Hall in Springfield, on Wednesday, June 16:

Republican State Convention.

By virtue of the authority vested in us by the State Convention, held at Bloomington, May 29, 1856, the Republican State Central Committee of the State of Illinois hereby notify the several counties of the State to appoint delegates to meet in Convention at the State House in Springfield, on Wednesday, the sixteenth day of June next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of nominating a candidate for State Treasurer and a candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, to be voted for at the general election to be held in November next, and for the more perfect organization of the Republican party in Illinois.

The counties will be represented in said Convention upon the basis of the total popular vote in the several counties cast for Presidential electors at the election in 1856, the representation to be apportioned among the several counties of the State, in the ratio of one delegate for every 400 votes cast for all the candidates for electors, and one delegate for every fraction over two 200 votes cast. Below is given a table of the number of the delegates to which each county will be entitled upon the above basis of representation.

Adams	15	Livingston	3
Alexander	2	Logan	5
Bond	4	Macon	4
Boone	5	Macoupin	9
Brown	4	Madison	11
Bureau	10	Marion	4
Calhoun	2	Marshall	4
Carroll	4	Mason	2
Cass	4	Massac	5
Champaign	4	McDonough	7
Christian	4	McHenry	10
Clark	6	McLean	10
Clay	3	Menard	4
Clinton	3	Mercer	5
Coles	7	Monroe	4
Cook	38	Montgomery	5
Crawford	4	Morgan	9
Cumberland	3	Moultrie	2
DeKalb	7	Ogle	9
DeWitt	4	Peoria	12
DuPage	5	Perry	3
Edgar	7	Piatt	2
Edwards	2	Pike	11
Effingham	3	Pope	3
Fayette	5	Pulaski	3
Franklin	3	Putnam	2
Fulton	14	Randolph	6
Gallatin	3	Richland	3
Greene	6	Rock Island	7
Grundy	4	Sangamon	13
Hamilton	3	Saline	3
Hancock	10	Schuyler	6
Hardin	1	Scott	4
Henderson	4	Shelby	5
Henry	7	Stark	3
Iroquois	3	Stephenson	8
Jackson	3	St. Clair	12
Jasper	3	Tazewell	8
Jefferson	4	Union	4
Jersey	4	Vermillion	7
Jo Davies	9	Wabash	3
Johnson	3	Warren	7
Kane	12	Washington	4
Kankakee	4	Wayne	4
Kendall	5	White	5
Knox	12	Whiteside	7
Lake	7	Will	10
La Salle	16	Williamson	4
Lawrence	3	Winnebago	10
Lee	6	Woodford	4

Total.....393

N. B. JUDD,
A. GRIDLEY,
C. H. RAY,
J. C. CONKLING,
E. C. COOLE.

Executive
Committee.

Springfield, April 22, 1858.

The Convention was called to order precisely at 10 o'clock, A. M., by N. B. Judd, chairman of State Republican Central Committee, upon whose motion

Hon. Richard Yates, of Morgan county, was unanimously chosen President, *pro tem*.

Mr. Yates took the chair amid loud applause, and said

Gentlemen:—This is indeed an unexpected honor. I had no idea of being called upon to preside over the deliberations of this body. I will state, however, that though it is unexpected, it will be very gratifying to my feelings. There may have been a time in the history of our party when it would not have been so. But now the signs are bright in the political sky of the Republican party. (Applause.) I may rejoice with keener satisfaction in the prospect before us, because of the peculiar situation in which I have before been placed. It is true that mine was the first voice ever raised in the halls of our National Congress, to condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (Tremendous cheers) While my colleagues and other Senators were imbruing their hands in the blood of that good old compromise, when they committed that outrage upon the public honor, and the plighted faith of a nation, which has been the source of all our troubles, so fearful and alarming to every true patriot, as to threaten the dissolution of our glorious Union, I rejoice, I say, more especially when I see that these very men are now the witnesses of the charges that we have made. But, gentlemen, it is not my duty as temporary Chairman to extend my remarks. I ask your assistance in conducting the deliberations of this assembly. I trust they will be conducted with that order which should characterize a party of our number and position. Our party, beyond all controversy, at this very day and hour, is the most powerful party on the continent of North America.

The Chairman resumed his seat amidst loud cheering.

On motion of Hon. O. H. Browning, W. H. Bailhache was appointed Secretary, and E. T. Bridges and George T. Brown assistant secretaries.

The call was then read by the clerk.

On motion of Hon. N. B. Judd,

Resolved, That the names of all delegates in attendance from the several counties be entered upon the records as honorary members, and that the several counties cast only the number of votes to which they are entitled under the call of State Central Committee.

On motion of Hon. O. H. Browning,

Resolved, That a committee of one from each Congressional district be appointed to examine the credentials of delegates.

The following persons were appointed said committee:

- 1st District—C. B. Denio, of Jo Daviess.
 2 " I. N. Arnold, of Cook.
 3 " J. O. Norton, of Will.
 4 " Peter Davidson, of Peoria.
 5 " A. Jones, of Adams.
 6 " J. J. Cassel, of Morgan.
 7 " W. J. Usrey, of Macon.
 8 " F. S. Rutherford, of Madison.
 9 " D. L. Phillips, of Union.

On motion of Dr. Leman,

Resolved, That a committee of one from each Congressional district be appointed to report permanent officers of the convention.

- 1st District—Dr. W. L. Leman, of Winnebago.
 2 " H. C. Fellows, of Whiteside.
 3 " James M. Curtis, of Champaign.
 4 " Dr. J. D. Arnold, of Peoria.
 5 " D. H. Gilmer, of Pike.
 6 " Dr. Sam'l Long, of Sangamon.
 7 " George W. Rives, of Edgar.
 8 " Nathaniel Niles, of St. Clair.
 9 " John Olney, of Gallatin.

On motion, the convention adjourned till 2 o'clock, P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The Chair announced the report of the committee on permanent organization to be in order.

The committee appointed to report a list of officers for the permanent organization of the convention, submitted the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

PRESIDENT:

HON. GUSTAVUS KOERNER, of St. Clair.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

- 1st district—D. M. Whitney, of Boone, and T. J. Turner, of Stephenson.
 2d district—George W. Dole, of Cook, and Calvin Truesdale, of Rock Island.
 3d district—Jesse O. Norton, of Will, and Leonard Swett, of McLean.
 4th district—T. J. Henderson, of Stark and Charles Ballance, of Peoria.
 5th district—Alexander Simpson, of Hancock, and Benjamin Chadsey, of Schuyler.
 6th district—John M. Palmer, of Macoupin, and Richard Yates, of Morgan.
 7th district—Joseph G. Bowman, of Lawrence, and T. A. Marshall, of Coles.
 8th district—D. H. Green, of Marion, and F. A. Carpenter, of St. Clair.
 9th district—H. M. Ridenhower, of Johnson, and D. G. Hay, of White.

SECRETARIES.

- W. H. Eailhache, of Sangamon, C. L. Wilson, of Cook,
 L. T. Bridges, of Whiteside, L. R. Webb, of Peoria,
 J. W. Edwards, of Gallatin, George John Ide, of Cook,
 E. L. Blanchard, of Winnebago, J. O. Johnson, of Sangamon,
 Fred Turpp, of St. Clair, J. W. McIntosh, of Pike,
 John Tolson, of Adams,

Gov. Koerner then came forward and said:

GENTLEMEN:—I have to return the Convention my sincere thanks for the distinguished honor they have conferred upon me by selecting me from among so many. It is an honor to preside over a Convention so respectable as this—so respectable in talent and ability and standing—so much to be respected for the great and glorious principles which we have for so many years sustained, and which I think will carry us to a successful issue. [Loud cheering.] Not having received a moment's warning of your kindness, I am not prepared to make a

speech upon the opening of this convention, nor is it expected I should. I congratulate our party upon the glorious prospects by which we are cheered. In our State and some other Northern States where we were not quite successful in 1856, that we lost the battle then on account of the speciousness of this boasted doctrine. But after it had been expounded by their distinguished chief, Mr. Buchanan, and the Supreme Court has given the quietus forever to that great delusion of the age, I think that thousands and thousands who opposed us then will now go with us. How has the administration of Buchanan succeeded? Have they redeemed a single one of their pledges? Have they made Kansas a free State? Gentlemen, have they not done every thing in their power to make it a slave State for ever? What did Mr. Buchanan say in his message? I have not time to go over the whole ground now. He told you that the country was in great distress, arising from the imperfect banking system from the breaking of almost all the banks in the country. He delivered a lecture to the people of this country on the evils of banking and suspension, and all that kind of thing, and told them that a bankrupt law should be established to remedy these evils. Well, now, banks suspended and resumed specie payment; and the Government suspended. [Laughter.] There was to be no paper currency. Yet what did they do? Why, there was \$15,000,000 of paper currency issued the first thing. There was to be a reform in the finances. There was \$25,000,000 of surplus at that time, but pray what is the surplus now? Why, they are \$25,000,000 in debt. [Cheers.] The bankrupt law—what has become of it? Gentlemen, I believe that the friends of Mr. Buchanan had no hopes of ever passing such a law. Then, again, fillibustering must be put down—private fillibustering. [Laughter.] Why? Because it did not succeed, I presume. [Laughter.] Well, Lecompton was to be passed, it was passed: but not in the way which Mr. Buchanan wanted.

Now where is that wise administration of James Buchanan? These are a few, a very few of the results of that Administration of that great statesman, that statesman of thirty years standing. The Administration of James Buchanan has been a most extraordinary one, and a most infamous one. Compare the Administration of Mr. Tyler, which you know was a grand and respectable one! Yea, friends, even that Administration was respectable compared to that of Mr. Buchanan. Who are these men who uphold the Administration of James Buchanan, the exercise of whose power is to force the people into submission? We should set our voices against it, and all these men have done, these office seekers and sinecures. Now so far as a portion of one wing of the Democracy have co-operated with us, we grant them the respect that is due; but they need not complain if we now turn the poisoned chalice to their own lips.

We sympathize with our distinguished Senator and his friends in their present position.

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If they will come to our ranks they may work with us, and we will welcome them into our ranks. But independent of this we had 92 votes against the most infamous instrument. In regard to the Lecompton Constitution it is not a question confined to that territory. No, it rises far superior. This question is one of keeping all our soil free for ever. An attempt has been made in Lecompton, not only to trample upon the rights of the people, but upon the first principles of American liberty. This has never been surpassed in the history of any administration, only by the English Bill, than which a more insulting measure never was brought forward. It makes the one man who votes for slavery equal to two men who vote for liberty. Look at this measure for a moment. If they vote for slavery, some forty thousand people may have a constitution and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with all the States; but if they want to make it a free State, they shall have ninety thousand, which just makes one man that is in favor of slavery equal to two that are in favor of liberty. But that measure must not pass—it will not pass. They have shown their intention—they have shown what they will do about that question, and it being now clearly known, thousands will join us who have not heretofore united with us in attempting to put an end to this agitation. That party called the Douglas party has no existence except for the purpose of electing a United States Senator. Let Mr. Douglas die to-morrow, and they will all of them join the Republican party. Then, I say, our principles must triumph, and let me say, much depends upon this Convention. If the Convention's proceedings are characterized by the principles of freedom, in this open handed contest we shall be victorious as sure as we are here. Yes, we will carry the point by an overwhelming majority, and the State of Illinois shall be free for ever and ever.

Mr. Koerner sat down amid great cheering.

The report of the committee on credentials was then presented as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Your committee on credentials would report the following list of delegates in attendance:

Adams County...15 votes...Jno R Crichton, A M Smith; Geo Rhea, T Castle, Geo Johnson, Geo P Phinney, E A Dudley, John Sharp, John W Duncan, John Dodd, Jim Colvin, Micajah Stone, Wm H McClyment, Geo Kincade, Thomas Killam, A Benton, Jno B Chittenden, Frank Owings, Wm Shannon, David Strickler, W T Sutton, Wm Gunn, Thos Crocker, Robert Rankin, Geo Hughes, Dr M Shepherd J V Hanks, Nat Pease, Jeremiah Parsons, Cyrus L Humphrey D Paulin, A H D Buttz, Christian Waggoner, S S Meacham, Wash Cobbin, Reuben T Smith, John Dodd, T J Long, John McCoy, Jason Wallace, S J Morcy, T P Conn, Dr T G Bailey, J J Harding, P B Garrett, Richard Sexton, Thos Bailey, Theron B Warren, A B Kirkpatrick, Jackson Pearce, J J Graham, Geo W Williams, Seth Grammar, N Robertson, Wm Booth, Martin McNitt, Moses Guthrie, John P Herndon, Andrew F Price, Thos Ellis, Harvey Bullard, Jas M Crawford Geo Padget, M B Finlay, Phillip Zink, Jos Eshom, Jas Adams A E Savage, J R Vandooon, Paul Korantz, Wm Dickhaut, Joseph B Gilpin, Andrew Keller, J Grimshaw, Wm B Powers, J C Cox, Geo Adams, F A Dallon, Thos Durant, John H Williams, S Seger, B M Prentiss, F W Jansen, Otto Bertschinger, M W Smith, O H Browning, F Phinck, L Buddle, A Williams, S Lessem, Jas Arthur, John Tillson, V Y Ralston, A V Humphrey, B G Wentworth, Lewis Slack, E S Green, A M Swartzent, Geo W Burns, E C Winter, H V Sullivan, D S Morrison, A Jonas, Jno S Loomis, Lewis Engle, A B Kingsbury, Henry Ashbury, R G Howland, J N Ralston, D Herman, Dr John Rittler, T S Giddings.

Alexander...2 votes...David J Baker, Jr John C White, Boone...5 votes...A E Jenner, S H Harburt, L W Lowe, G L Paddock, Charles F Barney, John Gudge, S R Mason, J G Hewitt, Chas I Kelsey, John H Bryant.

Bureau...10 votes...S A Paddock, Wm C Stacey, David Lloyd, D P Whitney, J P Jones.

Bond...4 votes...A G Henry, Wm M Evans, O Buchanan, J F Alexander, *Alternates*: J T Barr, J D Leasing Benj Johnson, J A M Lulu.

Brown...4 votes...Harl, A T Stone, J Roberts M V Stout, D Cristy, Dr J N Allen, G T Parkett, J Staffer, A E Martin, C W Pettigrew, J M Mallory, J Parry, A Webb.

Calvin...2 votes...B F Child, F Kersting. *Alternates*: G T Brown.

Carroll...4 votes...V Armpar, J P Emmert, M Nelkirk, Giles F Van Vechten.

Cass...4 votes...Thos Billings, D McLaughlin, J Q Chulsey, J A Aranz, O Rickard, J G Campbell, Alex Pitner, L M White, C O Standerant, Joseph Harris, C I Gobbers, D J Cole, Thos Padberry, Arch Job, Job Springer, L S Allard, Jos Stehlin, D O McKee, C G Cole, J Putnam, N S Reed, A G Angier, W Dressback, D M Irwin, Jacob Bergen.

Champaign...3 votes...Dr James Cora, James Curtis, Isaac J Miller, and Dr L M Gutcheon.

Christian...4 votes...W S Erick, Samuel J Sadler, Dr R B Hawley, and A G Leigh.

Clark...8 votes...Charles Johnson, William Shaw, Benj E McKeene, Charles Riggs, Joshua Chancellor, Martin Toner, Andrew Danlap, I K Greenough, Nixon Evans, Allen Sackrider, John Stockwell, S O McFarld, Joan Coons.

Craw...3 votes...Dr S B Manger, Charles Peshall, George W Foster.

Chatham...3 votes...John McCabe, John Stephens, James B Williams, Martin Wiley, Thomas Bennett, John Schuckman, W H Gray, Joseph Hanke.

Coles...7 votes...O H Martin, J L Allison, Albert Dryden, J J Pemberton, A K Southerland, B Newman and J W Burgett.

Cook...38 votes...J C Haines, S L Baker, C L Wilson, J M Richards, Geo W Gage, Geo F Crocker, B W Ransdell, H Kreismann, C Douglas, J Wentworth, J R Haugum, I N Arnold, N B Judd, C H Ray, R H Foss, L H Davis, H B Bay, M S Patrick, J W Wagoner, Aaron Gibbs, Wm Bross, George Schneider, E Anthony, I Speer, Geo P Hansen, J S Carlin, H P Hurd, Thos W Hastings, J Rehm, Phillip Wadsworth, J W Wyche, J J Richards, A W Windlett, S M Wilson, Cyrus Bently, J H Reese, J V Dyer, Andrew Neilson, A B Jenson, Alex Walcott, Elias Shipman, John Still, L D Castle, J H Thompson, John S Melville, J Periam, C D Robertson, Wm Wayman, Wm Winslow, Reuben Taylor, Geo N Reynolds, Wm Jones, Geo Sitts, Ransen Cleveland, L R Scripps, D Brobson, Geo Morey, J L Dailham, Waterman Reed, Henry Winnery, Chas Colbe, Jos Pollock, D C Hawley, U R Hawley, Thos Hule, S S Campbell, Wm Jackson, M N Kimball, Geo W Harris, J McEldorney, A Roberts, Robt Stuart, L D Castle, L C Adams, A H Dalton, W T Miller, P A Hoynes, A Brunning, Anton Hensing, A H Burley, W Waitney, S S Duffe, James Miller, C P P Holden, J B Aekley, George L Webb, J Mc Hill, C D W R E Peck, A D Eitworth, A Garrison Theobold Hartman, D Hertle, A F C Mueller, F Baumann, John Gray, N Kestler, Louis Walb, A Haskany, E I Haskham, J S Rumsey, H Wilmarth, Ernst Prussing, A Fischer, John Raber, Artemas Carter, M Arnold, John C Miller, James Barney, I L Maliken, Wm Colby, F Arnold, W S Scoville, J H Danham, J P Brooks, H W Phillips, Wm Johnson, Thos Robb, Wm Justice, Robt Meacham, John Gray, S N Wilcox, L W Montgomery, J Q Hoyt, Horace White, H Wendt, J N Henricks, Wm L Church, J G Lumbard, James Michie, Ed Schlage, W B Egan, E W Willard, E C Larnard J T Hoyt, Wm Windoes, Geo W Dole, J Von Horn, C P Bradley, A T Sherman, B Carpenter, Van H Higgins, Peter Page, S R Haven, John Garland, N Eisendrath James Duff, J H Kinzie, Gerhard Paoli, Alex Coventry, J C Dore, N P Wilder, Geo A Meech, S L Brown, L J J Nissen, James Milne, Javis Long, F H Bouson, R A Williams, J L Beveridge, G M Hantoon, A Daniels, A Nieman, S D Childs, F Tuttle, F Gaud, E Rawson, Nathan Jackson, S Pennoyer, Wm James, J D Ward, S P Warner, P Bass, Andrew Aiken, Franklin Webster, John A Grow, C Eollansbee, Seth Williams, A Harvey, J Gisle King, H L Wilson, J E Bishop, Casper Butz, Gustavus Bannar, Earnest Riedel, J S Melville, Henry Holland.

Crawford...4 votes...James H Steele, H E Peck.

De Kalb...7 votes...D M Kelsey, Daniel B James, C W Waite Horace Champ in, John C Waterman, Philander Waterman, Washington Waldron. *Alternates*: Henry L Boies, George Clarke, T C Wetmore, George Hills, Wm Patten, R V Randle.

De Witt...4 votes...David White, Wm Cottingham, Eli Harold, and B T Jones. *Alternates*: J E Blackford DeCATIN Pool, J W Pontred, Elias Griffin, and every other Republican.

Du Page...5 votes...Charles Smith, Lewis Ellsworth, Jas G Wright, R M Hough, Walter Blanchard, S D Pierce, E O Hills, Smit Adams, T W Smit h, Jacob Harty, H B Patrick, Fred Warfelmann, D Wilson, T A Hoffman, T H Mather, S T Daniels, R H Lewis, C Litchfield, Adam Glos, sr, Asa Knapp,

P Downer, L Thatcher, M D Dudley, S M Skinner, M S Hobson, John Glos, H D Fischer, Hiram Standish.

Edgemoor...7 votes...Robert Mosely, Dr Yeargin, G W Rives, Jas Steele, John Blackburn, O Bailey, J A Smith.

Edwards...2 votes...Will Pickering, Wm Woods.
W B Bail y, Virgil Collins, Leander Munsell, and M D Noble.

Engle...5 votes...Dr N M McCurdy, F Rannan, M Fehren, R C Lewis, A C Reid.

Fallon...14 votes...James Irwin, James Brown, Robert Carter, John W Practor, George Phelps, Elijah Capps, T Maple, W P Kellogg, J E Leeper, Dr J Gregory, H C Berry, Jonas Rawalt, L D Kellogg, A C Babcock. *Alternates*: Grauville Wright, T N Hassen, Josiah Marshon, John H Kelly, Chas W Reckhold, S M Mack, Anson Smith, I F Elrod, Lyman Moon, A Hale, S Wilkinson, SW P Davis, A J Ranson, A Babcock.

Gallatin...3 votes...Andrew McCallen, John Olney, J W Edwards.

Grundy...4 votes...C Grant, Wm Pierce, W C Hamill, J Newpoll. *Alternates*: W T Hopkins, J Wilson, A Longworth, N B Griswold.

Hamilton...2 votes...Wilson Lewis.

Hancock...10 votes...J W Hallowbush, C W Fattall, J C Cain, Samuel Ross, William Smith, James Campbell, Homer Judd, James Stark, Elsha Work, R W McKinney, A J Blair, George M Berry, B F Marsh, W D Huse, James K Catlin, Mathew Gray, Alexander Walker, Thomas Logan, Andrew Moore.

Henderson...4 votes...Wm C Rice, C S Cowan, A L Porter, Samuel Darnell.

Henry...7 votes...J H Howe, H Bigelow, T Wiley, J... James M Allan, Henry Sickeny, G C Alden, T F Davenport. *Alternates*: J F Dresser, J A Pratt, D L Wiley, John Wilkins, B F Henry, D L Wilson, O J Stough.

Idaho...3 votes...Franklin Blade, S G Bowie, Eliphalet Knight.

Jackson...3 votes...Wm Rickart, A Corber, E A Humphrey.

Jasper...3 votes...C D Hay, S C Patrick, Dr J M Taylor.

Joe Dores...9 votes...C B Denio, A L Shetland, J R Jones, W R Bowley, S W McMaster, A L Brink, W H Lovelan, J, Richard Brown, Leland W Carey.

Johnson...3 votes...H M Hidenhower, F W Whitmore, John P Schack.

Jersey...4 votes...J Hart, Joshua Hartlett, Thos Simmons, Elias Palmer.

Kane...12 votes...B K Allen, M V Hall, T C Moore, J H Mayhorne, Hon J F Farnsworth, C H Morgan, O Davidson, B McDole, J A Kirk, Isaac Hatch, Wm P West, J C Bartlett.

Kantakee...4 votes...A W Mack, D S Parker, Jas M Perry, Geo Gay.

Kendall...5 votes...H S Humphrey, A K Wheeler, Henry Sherill, N C Wigheil, Wm Grimwood.

Knox...12 votes...James Knox, R H Whiting, W S Gale, M W Chittendon, Aaron Tyler, M W Gay, U D Coy, James Burson, G Bergen, R W Miles, Thomas, Whiting, J G Hamrick.

Lake...7 votes...Thomas Fellows, James Y Corey, E P Ferry, B W Ramstead, W S Skinner, Dr D W Birge, J C Bidlecom.

Lawrence...3 votes...J G Bowman, E Ryan, I A Powell, J B Adams.

Lee...6 votes...J K Edsall, T W Fustace, R F Adams, R B Vele, G Ryan, Oliver Arnold, Oyas Wheeler, G S Berriek, H T Noble, B F Shaw, J W Hollenbeck, A P Curry, J F Remington, H C Prockner, J T Camp, Asa Stedman, Wm Stackpole, T A Divine, Geo Benjamin, E F Eberhart, Milton Santer, J S Boardman, A Kenyan, John Church, Sidney P Stevenson, Josiah Little, Thos E Bregier, Dr Hastings, Jas Fourtillott, Chas Gardner.

Livingston...3 votes...Chas J Beattie, Wm T Russell, J P Garwen, David, McWilliams.

Logan...5 votes...S St Clair, J L Dugger, Wm Patterson, David G Evans, N Summer, J G Giller, A B Chestnut. *Alternates*: Wm M Allen, I R Braucher, H Metcalf, Alex Downey, James Tuttle, J R Tonny, Sam Levine, G H Estabrook, S C Parks, R B Latham, D D James, J S Metcalf, David Rudolph, L Post, G D Glenda, C M Graves, Wm Ryan, J P Hughes, John Sheekey, J A Dalby, I Thomas.

La Salle...16 votes...A A Moore, J P Wiswald, D Nicholson, B C Cook, David Strawn, H H Fisher, John H Harris, G A Southworth, A D Butterfield, W Collins, R Thorns, E L Waterman, W H Price, Peter Howe, Wm Chumascro, C M Gilman.

Lawrence...3 votes...Dr I A Powell, Victor Buchanan, sen, Samuel H Grubb, Peter Smith.

Macdon...4 votes...W A Barnes, W A Oglesby, S K Swingley, A E Bunn. *Alternates*: J Shellanleger, J L Mansfield, Joseph Mills, H B Dufree, R J Amos, Jas Travis, Wm F Hammer, A T Hill, J C Taylor, Jos Stauffer, Capt J C Pugh, Wm Grayson, John Froman, David Hopkins, Joab Wilkinsen, Robt Stewart, Thos F Jon s, Sanford Payne, J D Jennings, D C Lockwood, E A Piper, Doctor Uhl.

Macoupin...9 votes...Samuel Brown, Samuel Welch, W C Rhoads, N Challacombs, W H Rhoads, T P Derr, Thos S Gel-

der, Z B Lawson, Josiah Whipple, H P Goodsel, Thos W Chiles, Henry Davidson, W G Rice, C G Snow, John Gibbon, A J Walker, L L Hungerford, Jas G Finch, Jas Langley, Geo Wolte, J s Rue, M H Ross, Geo Norvell, A Brown, J W Utt, R W Kay, John G Smith, J P Jackson, Chas E Smith, M C Brelstord, Wm Atherton, John Henryworth, Geo W Hamilton, E Fitzgerald, W C Phillips, John M Palmer, Geo Fishback, C L Andrist, Isaac Whitaker, J C Howell, John J Rinkaker, Jno A Halderman, Jno Logan, A Henderson, Benj Kidd, Saml Glas, James Wolte, L C Collins, T M Metcalf, P B Solomon, J D Marshall, Jona Huggins, J R Crandall, M W Seaman, Robert Meatyard, A Solomon, John P Binney, E R Randall, R H Hald n, P C Huggins, A W Elliott, F Howell, J A Delano, Charles Dorman, R R Thompson, H F Martin, Jas E Arnold, E P Carter, Geo H Aylworth.

Madison...11 votes...Geo Smith, W C Flagg, O C Dake, F S Rutherford, Geo T Brown, J D Manners, Samuel Squires, Dr H Wing, John Edwards, Dr Long, John Ellison. *Alternates*: Dr H K Lathey, Samuel Sanner, Charles Tuxhorn, Dr T Canisins, John Tribble, Joseph Suppiger, M C Gilham, O C Look, L R Cornman, E I Havens, Louis Spiess.

Marshall...5 votes...George P Wightman, John A McCall, Shubael Tabor, Peleg Parley, A N Ford. *Alternates*: Robert Neal, C M Bonham, A L Pool, J A Warren, A R Wilcox.

Matson...4 votes...Jas M Ruggles, J C Calloway, Wm Allen, R H Walker.

McHard...4 votes...L M Greene, Isaac Cogdal, E L Rankin, M S Morris.

Mercer...5 votes...J M Bassett, J K Herbert, W M Hays, H S Scott, H J Humphrey.

Monroe...4 votes...C H Kettler, M T Horine, R D Janson, Geo Abbott.

Montgomery...5 votes...Andrew Miller, James M Berry, Cullen Criswell, A Stackweather, Dr S M Davenport. *Alternates*: T G Lofton, Paul Watter, James White, John Clark, E Southworth.

Morgan...9 votes...John P Cassell, Wiley Weathers, M J Pond, Ebenezer Carter, Anderson Foreman, Wm Kinman, Wm M Deweece, J T Holmes, Dr Morrison, J H Dimmett, John Mathews, Wm Hamilton, Wm Richardson, Emanuel Hamilton, Andrew McDonald, Wm McDonald, James Graham, John Robinson, Wm L Graham, Richard Mathews, James Green, David Hamilton, Benj Uphem, Wm Relekin, Michael Rapp, Paul Selby, M H Cassell, D G V Shirty, Wm Strong, John Smith, J W King, Gideon Sibert, Lyman Adams, Oliver Pyatt, A C Woods, P M Scott, B Lewis, G Tendig, J Thacker, Robert T Osburne, H N Morrison, T W Smith, Joseph Hill, Edward Lusk, Richard Yates, J B Fairbank, John Gordon, W W Anderson, Wm Conluis, J J Cassell, W S Edgar, Frederic Keelsman.

Mc Henry...10 votes...L S Church, Wm A McConnell, A H Nixon, T B Wakeman, Daniel Stewart, S P Hyde, Harley, Wayne, Geo T Kasson, Charles M Willard, Anthony Overacker.

McLean...10 votes...Leonard Swett, James Allin, Jr, Dr J W Stipp, Dr H Shroeder, Dr W C Hobbs, W H Dawson, Thomas Fell, E C Mathews, Edward J Lewis, Charles, Schmeider.

Ogie...9 votes...Dr F A McNeill, Philo Wood, S M Hitt, Joshua White, H Burlington, C Appleton, L N Barber, M Hunt, D J Pickney.

Peoria...12 votes...Henry Grove, Chas Ballance, N C Geer, A P Bartlett, A Pothoff, George H Stone, Dr J D Arnold, L R Webb, Dr E H Clapp, G F Harding, Peter Davidson, B Hall. *Alternates*: D R Gregory, R Will, Jr, W C Babcock, S Dimon, Wm Herron, Enoch Huggins, B M Greenman, M Hinman, J H Bachelor, George W Shively, P C Bartlett, Alva Dualap.

Perry...3 votes...J W Clement.

Pike...11 votes...C J Barrett, E D McCord, Calvin Miller, J G Nicolay, James Barnes, B D Brown, Thos Osborne, D H Gilmer, N W Jones, O T Brewster, B L Mathews, John McFarland, A P Sharpe, Samuel Bradbury, J W Mackintosh, John J Weed, Dr J A Thomas, Dr A C Baker, Elisha Hurt, Col Wm Ross, M Ross, Josiah Hoover, Wilson Adams, J M Griffin, Jno Greathouse, J Goodale, Wm Thackway, B B Metz, Eli Hobbs, Robert English, Wm Grammer, Thos Hull, Lewis Hull, Thos Worthington, Wm A Grimshaw, Joshua Butler, Martin Harrington, George Petrie, J D Philbrick, M J Noyes, John Crow, Thos Kirkpatrick, Calvin Miller, S C McCord.

Potomac...2 votes...Oaks Tourner, James Thornton.

Randolph...6 votes...E J Montague, John Watson, S Crozier, Dr A V Agnew, M Ireland, S C McKee.

Richland...3 votes...E Kitchell, Wm M Beck, J May.

Rock Island...7 votes...Joseph Knox, Dr Truesdale, J V H Judd, John Deere, J J Beardsly, Dr S T Hume, B B Joselin.

Saugamon...13 votes...Abraham Lincoln, James C Conkling, Samuel Long, Samuel Grubb, sen, Preston Breckenridge, Jesse A Pickercell, F B Hoppin, Thos Yates, Levi Cantrall, Samuel Jones, Washington Hall, John B Weber, Peyton L Harrison.

Schwylzer...6 votes...Benjamin Chadsey, Allen Per-

singer, James Dewitt, B C Gillum, J G McCreery, G W Scripps.

Scott...4 votes...H Case, George Ebery, jr., N M Knapp, John Moses, John Halderman, J B Young, Wm Gordon, Charles Lyon, Prof J Loomis, Dr E H Hazzard, Dr C M Stewart.

Shelby...5 votes...Simon Spear, George T Williams, Chas W March, O P Helton, Joshua Gifford. *Alternates*: J O Adams, J E Ayers, Geo Spear, S D West, W P Sellers, N J Truce, M Snyder, Tom C Punting, E Prescott, Utton Smith, John Ward, F Durkee.

Stark...3 votes...T J Henderson, M G Brace, D J Hurd.

Stephenson...8 votes...John H Adams, John H Davis, C F Taggart, W Young, J F Ambrose, C Van Brocklin, M P Sweet, T J Turner.

St Clair...12 votes...John Thomas, N Niles, Thos Quick, G Koerner, Conrad Bommas, A Mercy, Jos Griffin, Felix Scott, Fred Rupp, Fred A Carpenter, J Betzler, Chas W Meyer, George W Eisenmeyer, Ausby File.

Tazewell...8 votes...T J Pickett, Dr B H Harris, David Kyes, Daniel Cheever, John L Marsh, R N Cullom, G W Miner, John H Harris.

Union...4 votes...D L Phillips, E H Finch, Ben L Wiley, Robert S Reynolds.

Vermilion...7 votes...J H Oakwood, W P Chandler, Dr B L Porter, H W Beckwith, Benf Stewart, Joseph Peters, John W Myers.

Walsh...3 votes...J A Morgan, W R Withnison, J N Ingness.

Warren...7 votes...James Hill, William Laferty, John Brown, George Gibson, Philo B Reed, James G Maden, Josiah Martin.

Washington...4 votes...Thos W Cameron, J Miller, J C Gwin, J H Sawyer.

Wayne...4 votes...L J S Surney, Saml Cope, Wm Young, H Wilson, Jacob Hall.

White...5 votes...L G Hay, Sidney Spring, A Dana Hiles, Rev David Campbell, Rev James J Ferree.

Whiteside...7 votes...E T Bridges, H C Fellows, W M Kilgour, R G Glendonin, L H Robinson, M S Henry, M R Kelly, W Prothrow, L B Weatherbee.

Will...10 votes...S W Munn, O L Hawley, V Adams, J Thornburg, A G Rowley, A S Anderson, W E Nelson, W Wright, Jos L Braden, Charles Hinch. *Alternates*: J N Fryer, B Dyer, D Willard, Robt Clow, jr., B E Russell, Erastus Clark jr., H Hawk, John Lane, jr., H M Ward, E W Beach, J O Norton.

Winnebago...10 votes...W F Jerome, D Hudson, Horace Starkey, J R Hering, T E Baecott, D F Talbot, Wm Lyman, E W Baisell, jr., Jason March, C C Buege.

Woodford...4 votes...R T Cassel, C W Minor.

It is with pleasure that your committee announce, that, nearly all of the counties are represented. The only counties not reported are, McDonough, Green, Piatt, Moultrie, Effingham, Cumberland, Jefferson, Randolph, Palaski, Massac, Pope, Hardin, Franklin, Williamson—14 in all. And your Committee feel confident that most of these 14 counties will be reported during the sitting of the Convention.

Your committee would also offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That no county be allowed to cast a greater number of votes than they are entitled to under the call, and that the counties determine for themselves, in what manner the vote of their county shall be cast.

Respectfully submitted.

C. B. DENIO, *Chairman*.

Which report and resolution were unanimously adopted.

On motion of O. H. Browning,

Resolved, That a committee of two from each Congressional District be appointed by the chair to report resolutions for the consideration of the Convention.

The following persons were appointed said committees:

1st District—A. L. Chatlin, C. M. Willard.

2d " N. B. Judd, W. M. Kilgore.

3d " B. C. Cock, S. A. Paddock.

4th " J. D. Arnold, W. P. Kellogg.

5th " O. H. Browning, W. A. Grimes shaw.

6th " Rich'd Yates, John M. Palmer.

7th " R. J. Orleby, T. A. Marshall.

8th " J. P. Reynolds, Thos. Quick.

9th " John Olney, D. L. Phillips.

On motion, the Convention proceeded to nominate a candidate to be supported by the Republican party for State Treasurer at the next November election, whereupon

Charles L. Wilson of Cook, nominated James Miller for said office.

There being no other nomination made, it was moved and seconded that the Convention declare James Miller the unanimous choice of the Republicans of Illinois for said office, which was adopted amid thunders of applause.

Mr. Miller was then loudly called for, and C. B. Denio was appointed a committee to communicate the action of the Convention to him, and request his acceptance of the same, which was done, and Mr. Miller responded by taking the stand and returning his thanks to the Convention in a brief and appropriate speech which was received with deafening shouts of approbation.

On motion, the Convention proceeded to the nomination for State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The following persons were put in nomination for said office:

W. H. Powell, of Peoria county; Francis Springer, of Sangamon; Jonathan Blanchard, of Knox; W. T. Hopkins, of Grundy; J. Allison Smith, of Edgar; James J. Ferree, of White; Newton Bateman, of Morgan; J. M. Jacquess, of Adams; Thomas W. Hine, of Bond; and M. Tabor, of Kane.

1st ballot—Powell 208, Bateman 27, Springer 31, Pinckney 86, Blanchard 17, Hopkins 42, Smith 61, Ferree 3, Phillips 8, Jacquess 12, Hines 4, Tabor 12, blank 6. Total number of votes cast 517—no choice.

Before this ballot was closed the name of Mr. Phillips was withdrawn.

On motion, further balloting was postponed until 4½ o'clock, in order to await the arrival of a large delegation coming from the Southern part of the State.

On motion of N. B. Judd,

Resolved, That a committee of eleven, one from each Congressional District, and two from the State at large, be appointed by the chair, to constitute the Republican State Central Committee, with power to call future conventions, and fix the ratio of representation in same.

The President announced the following as said committee:

For the State at large—N. B. Judd, of Cook, and George T. Brown, of Madison.

1st District—T. J. Turner, Winnebago.

2d " S. L. Baker, Cook.

3d " W. T. Hopkins, Grundy.

4th " N. O. Geer, Peoria.

5th " J. Grimshaw, Adams.

5th District—Richard Yates, of Morgan.

7th " G. D. Hayes, Jasper.

8th " N. K. Green, Marion.

9th " D. L. Phillips, Union.

On motion, the Convention adjourned till 5 o'clock.

5 o'clock, P. M.

Convention re-assembled according to adjournment, with officers in their places as before.

The credentials of a number of delegates from several counties not before reported, were offered and received.

On motion, the Convention proceeded to take a second ballot for the nomination of Republican candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, with the following result:

2d ballot.—Powell 192, Bateman 134, Springer 24, Jaquess 7, Pinckney 86, Smith 56, Sharp 10, Phillips 5, blank 6. Total number of votes cast 520—no choice.

The name of Francis Springer was then withdrawn.

A resolution to drop all but the three highest candidates was adopted.

3d ballot.—Powell 206, Bateman 275, Pinckney 37, blank 5. Total number of votes cast 523.

N. Bateman having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared to be the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Mr. Hulbert, who nominated Mr. Pinckney, moved that the vote be declared unanimous, which was carried with loud cheers.

The committee on resolutions submitted the following, which was read and unanimously adopted:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We, the Republicans of Illinois, in convention assembled, in addition to our previous affirmations, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We reaffirm our devotion to the Constitution of the country and to the union of the States, and will firmly and steadily resist all attempts for the perversion of the one or the disruption of the other. We recognize the equal rights of all the States, and avow our readiness and willingness to maintain them, and disclaim all intention of attempting, either directly or indirectly, to assail or abridge the rights of any of the members of the confederacy guarantied by the Constitution, or in any manner to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. Nevertheless we hold that this government was instituted for free men, and that it can be perpetuated and made to fulfil the purposes of its organization only by devoting itself to the promotion of virtue and intelligence among its citizens, and the advancement of their prosperity and happiness, and to these ends we hold it to be the duty of the government so to reform the system of disposing of the public lands as to secure the soil to actual settlers, and wrest it from the grasp of men who speculate in the homes of the peo-

ple, and from corporations that lock it up in dead hands for enhanced profits.

2. Free labor being the only true support of Republican institutions, our government should maintain its rights, and we therefore demand the improvement of our harbors and rivers which freight the commerce of the West to market, and the construction of a central highway to connect our trade with the Pacific States as rightful encouragement to home industry; and inasmuch as we now compete in the markets of the country against the products of unpaid labor at depreciating prices, it is therefore eminently unjust that the National administration should attempt, by coercion, to extend a servile system in the Territories, or by patronage to perpetuate slavery in the States.

3. The present Administration has proved recreant to the trusts committed to its hands, and by its extraordinary, corrupt, unjust and undignified exertions, to give effect to the original intention and purpose of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, by forcing upon the people of Kansas, against their will, and in defiance of their known and earnestly expressed wishes, a constitution recognizing slavery as one of their domestic institutions, it has forfeited all claim to the support and confidence of the friends of free men, free labor and equal rights.

4. It is the duty of the government, faithfully and diligently to execute all our treaty stipulations, and to enforce all our laws for the suppression of the slave trade.

5. That while we deprecate all interference on the part of political organizations with the action of the judiciary, if such action is limited to its appropriate sphere, yet we can not refrain from expressing our condemnation of the principles and tendencies of the extra judicial opinions of a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States in the matter of Dred Scott, wherein the political heresy is put forth that the Federal Constitution extends slavery into all the Territories of the Republic, and so maintains it that neither Congress, nor the people through their Territorial Legislature, can by law abolish it; we hold that Congress possesses sovereign power over the Territories, and has the right to govern and control them, whilst they remain in a territorial condition, and that it is the duty of the general government to protect the Territories from the curse of slavery, and to preserve the public domain for the occupation of free men and free labor, and we declare that no power on earth can carry and maintain slavery in the States against the will of their people, and the provisions of their constitutions and laws; and we fully indorse the recent decision of the Supreme Court of our own State, which declares that property in persons is repugnant to the constitution and laws of Illinois, and that all persons within its jurisdiction are presumed to be free, and that slavery, where it exists, is a municipal regulation, without any extra territorial operation.

6. The policy of this government should be to live on terms of peace and amity with all the nations

of the earth so far as it can be done consistently with our national honor and interests; and to enter into entangling alliances with none. Our intercourse with other nations should be conducted upon principles of exact and exalted justice; and whilst firmly maintaining our own rights we should carefully avoid any invasion of the rights of others, and especially those of the weaker nations. Our commerce ought to be protected from wanton interruption, and our commercial marine from invasion and search—and whilst we would deplore the necessity of war with any of the nations of the earth, we will still firmly, zealously and patriotically sustain the government in any just measures which it may adopt to obtain redress for injuries and indignities which may heretofore have been inflicted upon our citizens navigating the seas, or which may be necessary to secure them against a repetition of like injuries in the future.

7. We view with regret and alarm the rapidly increasing expenditures of the General Government, which, now in a time of profound peace, threaten the country with national bankruptcy; and we pledge ourselves, as far as we may speak for the Republicans of Illinois, to a thorough and radical reform in the administration of the government finances, in the event that the Republicans are intrusted with the care of national affairs.

B. C. Cook, of LaSalle, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Hon. Lyman Trumbull, in the Senate of the United States, has illustrated and defended the principles of the Republican party with distinguished ability and fidelity, and we hereby express our emphatic approval of his course.

Charles L. Wilson, of Cook, submitted the following resolution, which was greeted with shouts of applause, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas.

On motion, the convention adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock.

8 O'CLOCK, P. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The hall, and lobbies and galleries were even more densely crowded and packed than at any time during the day.

The Hon. Abraham Lincoln was called upon to address the convention. As he approached the Speaker's stand, he was greeted with shouts and hurrahs and prolonged cheering. When the noise subsided, he proceeded to address the convention as follows:

REMARKS OF MR. LINCOLN.

Gentlemen of the Convention:—If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed—

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect will cease to be divided.

It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery so to speak compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also, but let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design, and concert of action among its chief bosses, from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition.

Four days later, commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition.

This opened all the national territory to slavery; and was the first point gained.

But, so far, Congress only, had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable to save the point already gained, and give chance for more.

This necessity had not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self government," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object.

That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: "*It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*"

Then opened the rear of loose declamation in favor of "Squatter Sovereignty," and "Sacred right of self government."

"But," said opposition members, "let us be more specific—let us amend the act so as to ex-

pressly declares that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure, and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through Congress, a law case, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him, first into a free State and then a territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave for a long time in each, was passing through the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requests the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits, and the latter answers, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory.

The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument.

The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it may be.

Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capital indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it.

The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained.

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would

impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence—tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point—the right of a people to make their own constitution—upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its present state of advancement.

The working points of that machinery are:

First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of that provision of the United States Constitution which declares that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States, neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States territory."

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the territories with slaves without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

This point is made, not to be pressed immediately, but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, to not care whether slavery is voted down or voted up.

This shows exactly where we now are; and partially, also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter to go back, and run the mind over the string of

of historical facts already stated. Several things will *now* appear less *dark* and *mysterious* than they did *when* they were transpiring. The people were to be left "perfectly free" "subject only to the Constitution." What the *Constitution* had to do with it, outsiders could not *then* see. Plainly enough *now*, it was an exactly fitted *nitch*, for the Dred Scott decision to afterwards come in, and declare that *perfect freedom* of the people, to be just no freedom at all.

Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough *now*, the adoption of it, would have spoiled the *nitch* for the Dred Scott decision.

Why was the court decision held up? Why, even a Senator's individual opinion withheld, till *after* the Presidential election? Plainly enough *now*, the speaking out *then* would have damaged the "*perfectly free*" argument upon which the election was to be carried.

Why the *outgoing* President's felicitation on the indorsement? Why the delay of a re-argument? Why the incoming President's *advance* exhortation in favor of the decision?

These things *look* like the cautious *patting* and *petting* a spirited horse, preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall.

And why the hasty after indorsements of the decision by the President and others?

We can not absolutely *know* that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in *such* a case, we find it impossible to not *believe* that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common *plan* or *draft* drawn up before the first liek was struck.

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a *State* as well as *Territory*, were to be left "*perfectly free*" "*subject only to the Constitution*."

Why mention a *State*? They were legislating for *Territories*, and not *for* or *about* *States*. Certainly the people of a *State* are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this *lugged* into this merely *territorial* law? Why are the people of a *territory* and the people of a *state* therein *lumped* together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being *precisely* the same?

While the opinion of the *Court*, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the

separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all *omit* to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a *state*, or the people of a *State*, to exclude it.

Possibly, this was a mere *omission*; but who can be *quite* sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a *state* to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chace and Mace sought to get such declaration in behalf of the people of a *Territory*, into the Nebraska bill—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down, in the one case, as it had been in the other.

The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a *State* over slavery, is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and *almost* the language too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion his exact language is, "except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the *State* is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction."

In what cases the power of the *states* is so restrained by the U. S. Constitution, is left an *open* question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the *territories* was left open in the Nebraska act. Put *that* and *that* together, and we have another nice little *nitch*, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a *state* to exclude slavery from its limits.

And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up," shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States.

Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown.

We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of *Missouri* are on the verge of making their *State* free; and we shall awake to the reality instead, that the *Supreme Court* has made *Illinois* a slave State.

To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation.

That is what we have to do.

But how can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us *openly* to their own friends, and yet whisper us *softly* that Senator Douglas is the *apost* instrument there is, with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he *wishes* any such object to be effected. They wish us to *infer* all, from the facts, that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that

he has regularly voted with us, on a single point; upon which he and we have never differed.

They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But "a living dog is better than a dead lion." Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for his work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it.

A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas' superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave trade.

Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And, unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave trade—how can he refuse that trade in that "property" shall be "perfectly free"—unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglass holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong.

But, can we for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he, himself, has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference?

Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas' position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him.

Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle so that our great cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no advantageous obstacle.

But clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise to ever be.

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result.

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong.

We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us.

Of strange, discordant, and, even, hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud and pampered enemy.

Did we brave all then to falter now?—now—when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent?

The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail.

Wise councils may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later the victory is sure to come.

Mr. Lincoln was cheered throughout the speech, and when he closed the hall rang with prolonged applause.

On motion of J. Grimshaw—

Resolved, That the Republican members of Congress from this State, are, in common with their Republican co-laborers from other parts of the Union, entitled to the thanks of this Convention and the people of Illinois, for their firm, dignified and protracted, though unsuccessful resistance to the consummation of the Lecompton Fraud.

On motion of I. N. Arnold—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the citizens of Springfield for the many hospitalities which they have rendered to the members of this convention.

On motion of C. B. Denio—

Resolved, That this Convention heartily indorse our present Republican State Administration, and commend the able and efficient manner in which its members have performed the arduous and responsible duties of their various stations, and discharged the trusts confided to them in 1856, by the people of Illinois.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to its officers, for the prompt and impartial manner in which they have discharged the duties devolving upon them.

The following resolution was offered and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention, together with the resolutions, be published in the *Illinois State Journal* and in all other papers throughout this State which are favorable to our cause.

GUSTAVUS KERNER, President.

D. M. WHITNEY, } Vice Presidents.
&c., &c., &c.

W. H. BAILLACHE, } Secretaries.
&c., &c., &c.

